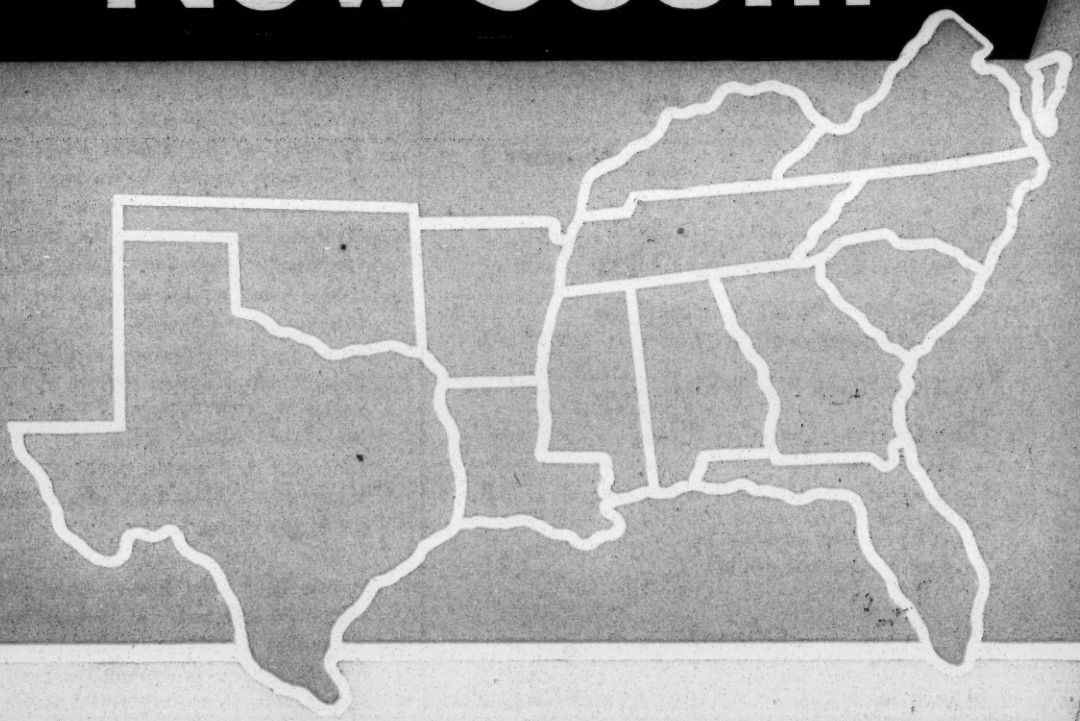
New South



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New South

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New South Notes

Additional information has been given us concerning the statement in the December, 1957, issue of *New South* entitled "Practice of Principles Is A Must for Churches." Lewis H. Deer, National Director, Social Education and Intercultural Relations of the United Christian Missionary Society, writes that the statement originated with the Social Welfare Department of the United Christian Missionary Society, but it was subsequently adopted by the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ). *New South* only gave credit to the Social Welfare Department; but as Mr. Deer rightly points out, the statement has much more significance with having been adopted by the larger group.

New South's lead article this month has to do with violence and suggested methods of prevention. Alexander F. Miller, national community service director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, gives the reader some timely suggestions in this field. The article is reprinted from the ADL Bulletin of January, 1958.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, and president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, discusses the method of non-violent resistance employed so successfully in the now-famous Montgomery bus boycott. The article, reprinted from *The Presbyterian Outlook*, gives some suggested rules for the Negro during the current crisis in the South.

Neither Black Nor White, the factual book on race relations in the South today, is reviewed in this issue of *New South*.

Violence: It Need Not Happen*

By Alexander F. Miller

National Community
Service Director,
Anti-Defamation League
of
B'Nai B'Rith

FROM Chicago to Nashville, Levittown to Little Rock, in scores of communities throughout the land, the United States has been scarred by instances of mob violence arising from racial tensions. Almost without exception, this violence —whether it has taken the form of riots, beatings or bombings—has been ruthlessly exploited by America's enemies abroad. It has been used to picture us as a nation of barbarians, afraid to give equal opportunity to our citizens, incapable of world leadership.

The picture is evil, unfair—and damaging. When violence occurs, it is usually caused by reasons quite different from those charged by the anti-American press. The United States is seriously trying to extend equality of opportunity; it is making great strides toward fuller democracy every year. The violence we have witnessed is usually a reaction on the part of the die-hards and disgruntled, desperately fiighting a losing battle.

Not the least tragic aspect of the violence of the past decade is the fact that none of it—or virtually none of it —need have happened. Few Americans, no matter what their views on the morality or justice of desegregation, seek or welcome violence and a breakdown of law and order. Two conditions must almost always be present before a group of citizens turns into a howling mob:

—A seething sense of outrage, usually whipped up by impassioned agitation.

—A feeling that the authority of the law will tolerate or at least wink at mob excesses.

These conditions were in evidence in almost every single case of violence in recent years. They need not have been; proper police action, backed by responsible municipal and state officials,

* *Reprinted by Permission of ADL.*

Violence

(Continued)

could have removed them—lawfully and in time.

The pattern has been disconcertingly alike in Clinton, Baltimore, Levittown, Nashville and Little Rock. A crowd gathers near the house or school which is being desegregated. The crowd consists of diverse elements: segregationists, teenagers, and the curious. The police threat the crowd with tolerance, apparently indifferent to the jeers, catcalls, curses, even brickbats. The only police requirement seems to be that the crowd stay behind certain rather loosely defined lines.

Apparently, the police in each city hoped that this kind of non-inflammatory treatment would gradually melt the crowd away. It never does. Instead, only after the damage is done—after violence sears the city—is the police action taken which should have been the first order of business.

A police force, of any size and competence, knows better. It has at its disposal any number of ways of handling mobs. The techniques are many; they have been published in manuals and tested successfully through the years.

Lynching

One of the most notorious lynchings of this century which took place in San Jose, California, in 1933, illustrates the point that "malcontents" must be made aware that the authority of the law forbids any disturbance or rioting. The lynching was not caused by racial tensions; it happened when Americans were agitated by a wave of kidnappings which occupied headlines in those days. Two men, arrested for kidnappings and killing young Brooke Hart, were taken from the cells before trial and hanged by a mob.

The mob had sensed that it could act with impunity. Its instincts were right. The next day, the Governor of the State of California, James Rolph, Jr., said that "it would be good if all jail inmates serving time for kidnapping were turned over to those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens, who know how to handle such a situation." No one was punished.

Authority

Throughout national history, when the authority of the law has been exerecised quickly and vigorously, Americans have avoided violence. In 1894, Coxey's Army started marching on Washington from Massilon, Ohio, picking up support among the unemployed and embittered as it went along. By the time it reached the capital, a major catastrope seemed to imperil the federal government. But prompt police action reduced the threat instantly. The action: leaders of Coxey's Army were arrested for walking on the grass in a Washington, D. C., monument area.

No matter how strong their emotions, people do not easily violate authority. Nor do they like to bring disgrace to themselves, their family or neighbors. If Governor Faubus of Arkansas had shown, by word or deed, that he was in any way opposed to a show of violence in Little Rock, it is doubtful that the beatings and mob action there would have taken place .

A good police force has, at its disposal, the resources and information

that can prevent violence from breaking out. Look at two examples of the kind of knowledge a police force has:

Time and place — An alert police force knows when and where violence may occur. In the case of desegregation in the South, violence is most apt to break out in the vicinity of a school building at the beginning of the school year or at any other time set for the beginning of desegregation. Elsewhere, racial violence is most apt to break out in the summer time when people are more outdoors, and Negroes and whites meet each other in new, tension-ridden situations. On weekends or holidays, particularly, incidents may occur that trigger racial violence. These happen at places of recreation and transportation. A good police force knows where to anticipate them.

Rumor—According to Joseph D. Lohman, Sheriff of Cook County and a practicing sociologist, the police "are one of the most sensitive barometers of the rumor and talk going around a community. They are the modern counterpart of the cracker barrel and the barber shop. They may not know the significance of what they learn—that is one of the things instruction requires. . . . "

Methods

There are very sure and effective ways for the police to operate—if they have the training. Some methods were offered—largely tactical — in manuals published as much as forty years ago. Today, in cities throughout the nation, there are far more sophisticated training manuals and programs which teach police how to handle minority group problems. One of the very best manuals on the subject, "POLICE LAW AND MINORITIES" will soon be published by the Anti-Defamation League as part of its Freedom Pamphlet Series. It is written by Carl Hannson, chief of police of Dallas, Texas, and a former president of the International Association of Police Chiefs.

Eight Points

Chief Hannson describes how police authority was used effectively to quell a Harlem riot in August, 1943—"probably the one riot in American history where police activity was generally approved on all sides." He then offers eight tactical points that were tested and found successful in the Harlem riot:

1. Immediate recognition by the police of an unusual and dangerous situation and a quick report to headquarters.

2. Speedy mobilization of the police force.

3. Rapid, effective steps, planned in advance, to prevent curiosity seekers or potential rioters from entering the area.

4. Special precaution against the excessive use of force and insistence on diplomatic and impersonal action on the part of the police officers.

5. Large reinforcements held in reserve but quickly available if needed.

6. Cooperation of neighborhood leaders enlisted, both to plan strategy and to appeal directly to rioters.

7. Uitlization of civilians as police auxiliaries.

8. Personal appeals to the rioters from high civilian officials.

Much of the tactical advice found in most other manuals can be easily

Violence

(Continued)

summarized. This is basic procedure for avoiding shows of mob violence.

—Allow no more than three persons to congregate within a mile of the school or house which is the focus of activity or crisis.

—During the time that tension exists, let the police enforce the simple rule of 'keep 'em moving." Allow no crowd to gather on any public property within the city limits without a proper permit.

—Prevent parades or caravans from using public thoroughfares without a permit.

Simple and elementary rules? Yes they are—but if you consider most recent cases of mob action, you will see that these basic steps have been largely ignored.

In addition to these steps, there are other prerequisites for preventing mob action. A community, no matter how grave its tensions, will usually avoid violence if it has (1) a fearless police chief, (2) backed by a courageous mayor, (3) backed by a resolute judge.

The qualities called for, of course, are not those found in training manuals. But they are just as essential if we are to deaden the sounds of fury and madness that accompany a breakdown in law and order, sounds that have caught the ears of the world, sounds that need never have been heard.

Governor Speaks for State

Raleigh News & Observer

Governor Hodges undoubtedly spoke for the vast majority of North Carolinians when he denounced the present-day Ku Klux Klan and placed upon it the full responsibility for the recent disorders at Maxton. His warning that future incitement by the Klan will not be tolerated will also be applauded generally.

The original Ku Klux Klan, which sprang up in the Reconstruction Era, was highly regarded in the South. But even then the hooded Klan indulged in excesses which caused its leaders to repudiate and disband the organization.

As late as the nineteen-twenties some people remembered the original Klan with an approval which overlooked its excesses. Even the highly respected Judge Henry A. Grady became a leader of the Klan, until he, too, found himself unable to condone or pass in silence the actions of his followers. He, too, repudiated and disbanded the Klan.

The present Klan has little, if any, resemblance to respectability and its practices are deplored by many who share some of the Klan's points of view.

Governor Hodges has rightly reached the conclusion the time has come for the State to act as well as to deplore. More power to him!

Neither Black Nor White

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, Rhinehart & Co., Inc., New York. 371 pp., $5.00.

"Thoreau wrote by Walden Pond, 'Only that day dawns to which we are awake.' Over the South you hear today the voices of the few who are awake, the voices of the few who are deep in a Rip Van Winkle slumber, and the voices of the many in between who are stirring—eager, sluggish, bitter, hopeful, silly, brave, fearful. They are helping the dawn come up like thunder down South."

This paragraph from the latest book of Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely neatly sums up the contents of the book itself. The authors, both Southerners, draw from personal experiences and countless interviews throughout the South to give the reader a fairly clear picture of a region now in turmoil and the picture emerging from that turmoil.

This South, both good and bad, is reflected here through its people. Although the authors offer their own constructive criticisms, the power of their book is in the South itself speaking about its problems. This is expertly accomplished through the comments and propohesies of Southerners from all walks of life and all opinions.

The authors found no "solid South," with some parts of the region more awake than others, with the dawn brighter in some cities than in others, with some people in all sections working for that brighter dawn.

The authors have included history to give the reader an idea of how the South got this way; but as the rest of the book, this background is presented in readable ancedote style.

The book is a rare collection of all the elements that make up the Southern region today. The NAACAP, the KKK, the WCC (White Citizens' Councils), the Southern press, the politician, the educators, the farmer, and the average citizen.

Entitled "Alphabet Stew" one chapter deals with the organizations most deeply involved in the future of the South. In this chapter, the authors discuss the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the numerous "resistance" groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Councils, which have flourished in the South since the Supreme Court decision.

The finest portion of the book, however, is the chapter "Charleston to Houston" in which the authors sum up the many component parts which go to make up the South. In this chapter, they paint the picture, show the problem, and end with the appropriate remarks of an Alabaman, working at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, who said:

"The question used to be how people lived, now the question is, if we live. Actually I suppose the two are one: how we live determines if we live."

The Current Crisis In Race Relations*

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

President, Montgomery Improvement Assn.

IN American life there is today a real crisis in race relations. This crisis has been precipitated, on the one hand, by the determined resistance of reactionary elements in the South to the Supreme Court's momentous decision against segregation in the public schools. Many states have risen in open defiance. Legislative halls of the South ring loud with such words as "interposition" and "nullification." The Ku Klux Klan is on the march again, determined to preserve segregation at any cost. Then there are the White Citizens Councils. All of these forces have conjoined to make for massive resistance.

The crisis has been precipitated, on the other hand, by the racial change in the Negro's evaluation of himself. There would probably be no crisis in race relations if the Negro continued to think of himself in inferior terms and patiently accepted injustice and exploitation. But it is at this very point that the change has come. For many years the Negro tacitly accepted segregation. He was the victim of stagnant passivity and deadening complacency. The system of slavery and segregation caused many Negroes to feel that perhaps they were inferior. This is the ultimate tragedy of segregation. It not only harms one physically, but it injures one spiritually. It scars the soul and distorts the personality. It inflicts the segregator with a false sense of superiority while inflicting the segregated with a false sense of inferiority. But through the forces of history something happened to the Negro. He came to feel that he was somebody. He came to feel that the im-

* *Reprinted from Presbyterian Outlook*

portant thing about a man is not the color of his skin or the texture of his hair, but the texture and quality of his soul. With this new sense of dignity and new self respect a new Negro emerged. So there has been a revolutionary change in the Negro's evaluation of his nature and destiny, and a determination to achieve freedom and human dignity.

This determination springs from the same longing for freedom that motivates oppressed people all over the world.

The deep rumblings of discontent from Asia and Africa are at bottom a quest for freedom and human dignity on the part of the people who have long been the victims of colonialism and imperialism. The struggle for freedom on the part of oppressed people in general and the American Negro in particular is not suddenly going to disappear. It is sociologically true that privileged classes rarely ever give up their privileges without strong resistance. It is also true that once oppressed people rise up against their oppression there is no stopping point short of full freedom. So realism impels us to admit that the struggle will continue until freedom is a reality for all of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Struggle

Since the struggle will continue, the basic question which confroonts the oppressed peoples of the world is this: How will the struggle against the forces of injustice be waged?

There are two possible answers. One is to resort to the all-too-prevalent method of physical violence and corroding hatred. Violence, nevertheless solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones. Occasionally violence is temporarily successful, but never permanently so. It often brings temporary victory, but never permanent peace. If the American Negro and other vicitms of oppression succumb to the temptation of using violence in the struggle for justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and their chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

Non-Violence

The alternative to violence is the method of non-violent resistance.

This method is nothing more and nothing less than Christianity in action. It seems to me to be the Christian way of life in solving problems of human relations. This method was made famous in our generation by Mohandas K. Ghandi, who used it to free his country from the domination of the British Empire. This method has also been used in Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of the ministers of all denominations, to free 50,000 Negroes from the long night of bus segregation. Several basic things can be said about nonviolence as a method in bringing about better racial conditions.

First, this is not a method of cowardice or stagnant passivity; it does resist. The non-violence resister is just as opposed to the evil against which he is protesting as the person who used violence. It is true that this method is passive or aggressive in the sense that the non-violent resister is not aggressive physically toward his opponent, but his

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mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken. This method is passive physically, but it is strongly active spiritually; it is non-aggressive physically, but dynamically aggressive spiritually.

A second basic fact about this method is that it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resister must often voice his protest through non-cooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that non-cooperation and boycotts are not ends within themselves; they are means to awaken a sense of moral shame within the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation.

The aftermath of non-violence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

Against Evil

A third fact that characterizes the method of non-violence is that the attack is directed to forces of evil, rather than persons caught in the forces. It is evil that we are seeking to defeat, not the persons victimized with evil. Those of us who struggle against racial injustice must come to see that the basic tension is not between races. As I like to say to the people in Montgomery, Alabama: "The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is at bottom between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory it will be a victory, not merely for 50,000 Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of life. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may happen to be unjust."

Internal Violence

A fourth point that must be brought out concerning the method of non-violence is that this method not only avoid external physical violence, but also internal violence of spirit. At the center of non-violence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity the oppressed people of the world must not succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter or indulging in hate campaigns. To retaiiate with hate and bitterness would do nothing but intensify the existence of hate in our world. We have learned through the grim realities of life and history that hate and violence solve nothing. They only serve to push us deeper and deeper into the mire. Violence begets violence; hate begets hate; and toughness begets a greater toughness. It is all a descending spiral, and the end is destruction—for everybody. Along the way of life, someone must have enough sense and morality to cut off the chain of hate by projecting the ethics of love into the center of our lives.

In speaking of love, I am not referring to some sentimental and affectionate emotion. It would be nonsense to urge men to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. Love in this connection means understanding goodwill as expresses in the Greek word agape. This means nothing sentimental or basically affectionate; it means under-

standing, redeeming goodwill for all men, an ever-owing love which seeks nothing in return. It is spontaneous, unmotivated, groundless, and creative. It is the love of God operating in the human heart. When we rise to love on the agape level, we rise to the position of loving the person who does the evil deed, while hating the deed that the person does.

A fifth basic fact about the method of non-violent resistance is that it is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. It is this deep faith in the future that causes the non-violent resister to accept suffering without retaliation. He knows that in his struggle for justice he has cosmic companionship. Now I am aware of the fact that there are devout believers in non-violence who find it difficult to believe in a personal God. But even these persons believe in the existence of some creative force that works for togetherness, a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspects of reality into a harmonious whole. There is a creative power in the universe that works to bring low gigantic mountains of evil and pull down prodigious hilltops of injustice.

Faith

This is the faith that keeps the non-violent resister going through all of the tension and suffering that he must inevitably confront.

Those of us who call the name of Jesus Christ find something at the center of our faith which forever reminds us that God is on the side of truth and justice. Good Friday may occupy the throne for a day, but ultimately it must give way to the triumph of Easter. Evil may so shape events that Caeser will occupy a Palace and Christ a Cross, but that same Christ arose and split history into A.C. and B.C., so that even the life of Caesar must be dated by his name. Yes, "the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice." There is something in this universe which justifies William Cullen Bryant in saying, "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." So in Montgomery, Alabama, we can walk and never get weary, because we know that there will be a great camp meeting in the Promised Land of freedom and justice.

Moral Dilemma

I cannot close this article without saying that the problem of race is indeed America's greatest moral dilemma.

The churches are called upon to recognize the urgent necessity of taking a forthright stand on this crucial issue. If we are to remain true to the gospel of Jesus Christ, we cannot rest until segregation and discrimination are banished from every area of American life. Many churches have already taken a stand. The National Council of Churches has condemned segregation over and over again, and has requested its constituent denominations to do likewise. Most or the major denominations have endorsed that action. Many individual ministers, even in the South, have stood up with dauntless courage. High tribute and appreciation is due the ninety ministers of Atlanta, Georgia, who so courageously signed the noble statement calling for compliance with the law and a reopening of the channels of communication between the races.

All of these things are admirable and deserve our highest praise. But we must

Crisis

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admit that these courageous stands from the church are still far too few. The sublime statements of the major denominations on the question of human relations move all too slowly to the local churches in actual practice. All too many ministers are still silent. It may well be that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition is not the glaring noisiness of the so-called bad people, but the appalling silence of the so-called good people. It may be that our generation will have to repent not only for the diabolical actions and vitriolic words of the children of darkness, but also for the crippling fears and tragic apathy of the children of light.

What we need is a restless determination to make the ideal of brotherhood a reality in this nation and all over the world.

There are certain technical words which tend to become sterotypes and cliches after a certain period of time. Psychologists have a word which is probably used more frequently than any other word in modern psychology. It is the word "maladjusted." In a sense all of us must live the well-adjusted life in order to avoid neurotic and schizophrenic personalities. But there are some things in our social system to which all of us ought to be maladjusted. I never intend to adjust myself to the viciousness of mob-rule. I never intend to adjust myself to the evils of segregation and the crippling effects of discrimination. I never intend to adjust myself to the inequalities of an economic system which takes necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes. I never intend to become adjusted to the madness of militarism and the self-defeating method of physical violence.

It may be that the salvation of the world lies in the hands of the maladjusted. The challenge to us is to be maladjusted—as maladjusted as the prophet Amos, who in the midst of the injustices of his day, could cry out in words that echo across the cenutries, "Let judgment run down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream"; as maladjusted as Lincoln, who had the vision to see that this nation could not survive half slave and half free; as maladjusted as Jefferson, who in the midst of an age amazingly adjusted to slavery could cry out in words lifted to cosmic proportions, "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"; as maladjusted as Jesus who could say to the men and women of his generation, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you."

The world is in desperate need of such maladjustment. Through such courageous maladjustment we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice.

"It is very embarrassing when we have to tell our Nigerian youth who plan to visit America that they will not be welcomed in the churches that send missionaries to them."—W. O. Harper, Southern Baptist Missionary to Tanganyika.

The Freedom of One Is the Freedom of All

Statement Adopted
By The General Assembly
National Council of Churches

RECENTLY there have been attempts by state and city governments to eliminate or suppress the activity of certain voluntary associations which are working to bring about peaceful social change through processes supported by the United States Constitution and the laws of the Nation. These attempts against voluntary associations have occurred particularly in connection with the desegregation of the public schools. Such attempts are a menace to the fundamental human rights of freedom of peaceable assembly and association and freedom of speech guaranteed by the Constitution.

In the Christian view, man is a creature of infinite worth in the sight of God, endowed with God-given rights. All men, and Christians in particular, are responsible to God and to their fellowmen for the defense of these rights. Among these rights are freedom of peaceable association and assembly and freedom of speech. From the Christian point of view, neither the state nor any group of men within the state can presume to grant or deny these fundamental rights.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to all persons certain inalienable rights. For example, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble . . . " The Constitution prohibits the several states from making or enforcing any law which abridges or denies these rights.

Several states and localities are pressing this attack on voluntary association by passing laws and using the

Freedom

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courts to force them to reveal their membership lists. Freedom of association and freedom of speech imply a right to privacy and often depend upon it, no matter whether the given voluntary association is fraternal, civic, economic or religious in purpose and character. Subject to legal processes in harmony with the guarantees of the Constitution, anonymity of membership is necessary for the exercise of these fundamental human rights.

The violation of privacy and of anonymity of membership limits or suppresses the activities of voluntary associations. Moreover, it has subjected their individual members to such reprisals as loss of employment, social ostracism, and economic boycott.

The National Council of Churches urges upon the churches and churchmen that they recognize the gravity of the threat to all association and to all liberties when the freedom of any legitimate voluntary association is assailed. The freedom of one is the freedom of all. The effort of any unit of government to eliminate or suppress a voluntary association whose purpose and activity are directed to the protection of rights guaranteed by the Constitution is a clear and present danger to the existence of the Nation as a united free and democratic society. The General Assembly therefore urges the communions constituent to the National Council, the General Board and other units of the Nation Council, and all Christians and other citizens to use all appropriate means at their disposal to prevent or to counteract such attacks upon our liberties.

The Southern opponents of desegregation continue to dig their own graves. Virginia's Prince Edward County, long a center of opposition, has been ordered by the Supreme Court to make "a prompt and reasonable start" to end segregation. In anticipation of the decision, the local school authorities have voted to abandon public schools and have set up a private corporation, with pledges of $200,000 to operate "private" white schools. Eventually, these private, segregated schools will be struck down by the Supreme Court as a palpable evasion of its mandate. Prince Edward white parents will then have to tutor their children or let them run wild, for the county will be without a school system, public or private . . . Closing public schols, if only in a few communities, will transform the integration issue into a battle for the preservation of public schools and, on this issue, the segregationists will lose. Like the man who was so afraid of dying that he committed suicide, the gravediggers of the South are driven by their fears to acts of self-destruction. —From an editorial in *The Nation.*

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"The injustice (in expelling Negro student Minnijean Brown) will be noted everywhere. And it will not hasten the day when Little Rock meets its problem with dignity and compassion. Even if all remaining eight Negroes are finally forced out, can Little Rock be proud of the educational system, the moral code that produced children so cruel, so uncivilized as these (white) hecklers seem to be?"

From an editorial in the Louisville (Ky.) COURIER-JOURNAL

* * *

"The moral case for desegregation is of course manifest, but today there are two powerful new arguments, arguments of prudence, rising out of the international strains of competitive coexistence. The first is that a billion dark-skinned human beings in the underdeveloped areas who are now deciding whether to follow the leadership of the free world, look with grave misgivings at the spectacle of racial discrimination in the United States. The second is that we can no longer afford to waste the talent of our Negro youth."

William Benton Quoted in INTERRACIAL REVIEW

* * *

"Since the Supreme Court's decision something like panic has been scything through the south, slashing off the head of every recreative element that ventured through the social soil. But heads are not roots, and as frenzy abates the hopeful elements have kept on pushing up. This February 14, for instance, Ed Cony, staff reporter of the *Wall Street Journal*, reported that 'a powerful voice is being raised in the south against segregation.' It is the voice of the preacher 'pleading with his people for moderation' on the race issue, at the very least, and in some cases telling them flatly segregation is morally wrong and must be abandoned."

From THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

* * *

". . . We must bring to this problem of human relations all the knowledge we can gather about the causes of prejudice and the strategies that are effective. We must move slowly because we are dealing with human beings within the framework of democracy. We must move surely because our social conscience and Christian ethics leave us no alternative."

Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders Quoted in SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

* * *

"The best testimony to the final death of interposition is to be found in the laws now being enacted in several states to close schools *when* and *if* federal troops are sent to enforce federal court orders. There is no longer any questioning of *whether* federal troops can be sent."

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP